

## Message Text

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ORIGIN SS-25

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY AMMAN NIACT IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 114733

EXDIS, FOR AMBASSADOR

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (PARA 3 LINE 9 OMITTED)

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PEPR, PGOV, XF, JOPN EG, IS, US

SUBJECT: TALKS WITH HUSSEIN ON RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

1. FOLLOWING ARE MAJOR POINTS WE WISH YOU TO MAKE TO  
HUSSEIN (AND SHARAF AT YOUR DISCRETION) PRIOR TO YOUR  
DEPARTURE FOR THE U.S.

2. ALLEGATIONS THAT ISRAELIS ARE PREPARING FOR A MILITARY  
PUSH INTO NORTHERN JORDAN AND SYRIA (AMMAN 3932): YOU CAN  
ASSURE HUSSEIN CATEGORICALLY THAT THERE ARE NO RPT NO  
INDICATIONS THAT THE ISRAELIS, AS ALLEGED BY THE JORDANIAN  
AMBASSADOR IN CAIRO FROM CONTACTS IN TOUCH WITH AL-BAZ,  
MIGHT BE THINKING OF SUCH A MILITARY  
PUSH.

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3. ATHERTON VISIT TO EGYPT:

-- THE REASON FOR THE UNCHARACTERISTIC DELAY IN INFORMING  
HUSSEIN OF THE ATHERTON VISIT TO EGYPT WAS THAT ATHERTON  
HAD TO LEAVE EGYPT QUICKLY WITHOUT AN OPPORTUNITY TO PRE-  
PARE HIS REPORT IN FINAL FORM IN ORDER TO REACH WASHINGTON  
IN TIME FOR OUR SERIES OF MEETINGS WITH DAYAN, AND FINALLY  
WITH BEGIN. FYI: YOU MUST BE EXTREMELY CAREFUL IN  
BRIEFING HUSSEIN NOT TO APPEAR TO CONTRADICT ANY OF THE  
POINTS IN THE SADAT LETTER TO HUSSEIN DESCRIBED AMMAN 3932,

SINCE SADAT HAS TO PROTECT HIMSELF WITH THE OTHER ARABS.  
END FYI.

-- THE EGYPTIANS WERE VERY INSISTENT ON THE NEED FOR  
PRECISE LANGUAGE ON WITHDRAWAL IN THE DECLARATION OF  
PRINCIPLES. THE PURPOSE OF THE DECLARATION IS TO PROVIDE  
A BASIS FOR BROADENING THE NEGOTIATIONS.

-- ATHERTON DISCUSSED WITH THE EGYPTIANS A DRAFT DECLARA-  
TION WHICH THE ISRAELIS HAD GIVEN US IN MARCH. THE  
EGYPTIANS ALREADY HAD THE SAME LANGUAGE FROM THE ISRAELIS.  
THEY DID NOT FIND THE ISRAELI DRAFT ACCEPTABLE. ATHERTON  
DISCUSSED SOME POSSIBLE VARIATIONS IN THE ISRAELI  
LANGUAGE WITHOUT, HOWEVER, TRYING TO DRAW UP A SPECIFIC  
PROPOSAL.

-- ATHERTON DISCUSSED WAYS IN WHICH A TRANSITIONAL REGIME  
MIGHT BE ESTABLISHED ON THE WEST BANK AND GAZA THAT WOULD  
ALLOW LOCAL LEADERSHIP TO EMERGE. SADAT MADE CLEAR THAT  
WHAT WILL HAPPEN AT THE END OF THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD  
IS ALL-IMPORTANT. ATHERTON SUGGESED THAT THE EGYPTIANS  
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PROVIDE THEIR IDEAS ON A WEST BANK/GAZA NEGOTIATING FRAME-  
WORK.

-- SADAT SUGGESTED THAT KAMEL MIGHT VISIT WASHINGTON FOR  
FURTHER TALKS. WE HAVE NOT YET DECIDED WHETHER THIS  
WOULD BE A GOOD IDEA, SINCE WE ARE WAITING FOR ISRAELI  
ANSWERS TO SOME QUESTIONS WE PUT TO THEM, AND THIS WILL  
TAKE SOME TIME (SEE BELOW).

-- TO SUM UP, SADAT IS INSISTENT ON A STRONG DECLARATION  
OF PRINCIPLES AND, BY STRONG, HE MEANS STRONG WITH REGARD  
TO WITHDRAWAL. AN EXPLICIT COMMITMENT TO WITHDRAWAL FROM  
THE WEST BANK AND GAZA REMAINS A CENTRAL ISSUE FOR HIM.

#### 4. MEETINGS WITH DAYAN IN WASHINGTON:

-- THE SECRETARY HAD SIX HOURS OF INTENSIVE DISCUSSIONS  
WITH DAYAN, DURING WHICH THE ISSUES WERE THOROUGHLY  
REVIEWED. WE MADE CLEAR SADAT'S POSITION ON THE NEED  
FOR MORE PRECISE LANGUAGE ON THE WITHDRAWAL ISSUE IN THE  
DECLARATION AND FOR MORE PRECISION REGARDING WHAT WOULD  
HAPPEN AT THE END OF AN INTERIM PERIOD ON THE WEST BANK  
AND GAZA.

-- DAYAN CONCENTRATED IN PARTICULAR ON DESCRIBING HIS  
THINKING CONCERNING THE NEGOTIATION OF PRACTICAL ARRANGE-  
MENTS FOR THE WEST BANK/GAZA ISSUES. HE STRESSED THAT,

IF AN UNDERSTANDING COULD BE REACHED ON THESE QUESTIONS, IT MIGHT BE EASIER TO RESOLVE THE DIFFERENCES OVER A FORMULATION OF A DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES. FROM AGREEMENT ON THIS SUBJECT, THERE MIGHT EMERGE CONSENSUS LANGUAGE FOR A DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

-- OUR PRELIMINARY VIEW IS THAT SOME OF DAYAN'S THINKING ABOUT INTERIM OR TRANSITIONAL WEST BANK/GAZA ARRANGEMENTS  
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CONTAINS IDEAS WORTHY OF FURTHER EXPLORATION. THE REAL PROBLEM, HOWEVER, REMAINS WHAT WILL HAPPEN AT THE END OF THE PERIOD, WHICH IS WHAT SADAT WANTS TO KNOW. THE SECRETARY PRESSED DAYAN VERY HARD ON THIS AND PUT A SERIES OF QUESTIONS TO HIM TO WHICH HE AGREED HE WOULD TRY TO PROVIDE ANSWERS.

-- DAYAN SAW BEGIN BRIEFLY IN NEW YORK AFTER HIS MEETINGS WITH US, BUT DEVELOPING THE ANSWERS TO THE QUESTIONS WE POSED WILL HAVE TO WAIT UNTIL AFTER BEGIN AND DAYAN HAVE

RETURNED TO ISRAEL. BEGIN IS IN THE U.S. THROUGH THIS WEEK, AND DAYAN WILL BE ENGAGED NEXT WEEK ON A TRIP TO THE SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES.

-- DAYAN GAVE NO INDICATION THAT ISRAEL WOULD GO BEYOND RESOLUTION 242 LANGUAGE ON WITHDRAWAL IN A DECLARATION.

-- THE SECRETARY DID NOT REACH ANY AGREEMENTS WITH DAYAN. WE DID NOT COME TO JOINT CONCLUSIONS, EITHER ON SUBSTANCE, OR ON PROCEDURE. WE HAD A SEARCHING DISCUSSION OF THE ISSUES, AND THAT IS ALL THAT WE SAID TO THE PRESS.

##### 5. MEETINGS WITH BEGIN:

-- AS HUSSEIN KNOWS, BEGIN HAS BEEN IN THE U.S. IN THE PERIOD 30 - MAY 7 PERIOD AT THE INVITATION OF AMERICAN JEWISH GROUPS IN ORDER TO CELEBRATE ISRAEL'S 30TH ANNIVERSARY. HIS FEW HOURS IN WASHINGTON ON MAY 1 WERE AS MUCH CEREMONIAL AS SUBSTANTIVE. THE SECRETARY MET WITH HIM FOR AN HOUR AND HOSTED A LUNCHEON FOR HIM. PRESIDENT CARTER HELD A BRIEF GENERAL MEETING WITH HIM, BEFORE ATTENDING THE RECEPTION GIVEN BY THE PRESIDENT  
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FOR AMERICAN JEWISH LEADERS.

-- THE TALKS DID NOT CARRY US BEYOND THE POINTS REACHED WITH DAYAN EARLIER IN THE WEEK. BOTH THE SECRETARY AND THE PRESIDENT STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF ISRAEL RESPONDING

TO THE SECRETARY'S QUESTIONS PUT TO DAYAN REGARDING WHAT SHOULD HAPPEN AT THE END OF THE INTERIM REGIME FOR THE WEST BANK/GAZA. BEGIN ACKNOWLEDGED THE CRUCIAL NATURE OF THE ISSUE AND PROMISED TO REPLY AFTER DUE CABINET CONSIDERATION, PERHAPS IN TWO OR THREE WEEKS.

-- BOTH BEGIN AND DAYAN CONTINUED TO SHOW DEEP INTEREST IN A RESUMPTION OF DIRECT TALKS WITH EGYPT, WITHOUT REGARD TO A FORMAT OR SITE. WE REITERATED OUR LONG-STANDING VIEW THAT DIRECT-TALKS WERE ALWAYS PREFERABLE, BUT DID NOT OFFER ENCOURAGEMENT ABOUT THE PROSPECTS OF RESUMED DIRECT TALKS IN THE ABSENCE OF HELPFUL ISRAELI RESPONSES TO THE QUESTIONS WE HAD POSED.

6. MISINTERPRETATIONS OF THE U.S. POSITION.

-- YOU HAVE ALREADY RECEIVED GUIDANCE WITH REGARD TO TRUDY FELDMAN'S ARTICLE. AT YOUR DISCRETION, YOU MIGHT NOTE THAT THERE WAS OF COURSE A WARM EXCHANGE OF GREETINGS BETWEEN BEGIN AND THE PRESIDENT ON MAY 1, IN KEEPING WITH THE SPIRIT OF THE ISRAELI ANNIVERSARY FESTIVITIES. BEGIN'S VISIT PROVIDED AN OPPORTUNITY TO REASSURE ISRAEL THAT WE REMAIN COMMITTED TO ITS SECURITY AS AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN THE SEARCH FOR A COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT. THE IMAGE OF A CLOSE AND FRIENDLY RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE U.S. AND ISRAEL IS HELPFUL TO OUR NEEDS AT THIS TIME AND SHOULD BE USEFUL AS NEGOTIATIONS MOVE FORWARD. INEVITABLY, THERE IS OF COURSE SOME DISTORTION IN PRESS REPORTING AND INCORRECT INTERPRETATIONS EMERGE.

-- THE FACT IS THAT THE U.S. REMAINS FIRMLY ON COURSE AND  
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INTENDS TO MAKE PROGRESS IN BRIDGING THE GAPS THAT REMAIN. WE HAVE AFFIRMED TO SADAT THAT THE U.S. STANDS BY THE COMMITMENTS WE HAVE GIVEN HIM. WE WILL BE IN ACTIVE COMMUNICATION WITH BOTH SIDES THE COMING WEEKS. WE INTEND TO KEEP HUSSEIN INFORMED OF FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS AS THEY OCCUR. -

-- IN THE MEANTIME, WE CONSIDER IT IMPORTANT THAT HUSSEIN AND LIKE-MINDED LEADERS IN THE ARAB WORLD CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN A STANCE OF BEING FIRMLY ON THE SIDE OF A PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF THE MIDDLE EAST ISSUE. SADAT IS UNDER INCREASINGLY HEAVY ATTACK IN THE ARAB WORLD, AND IT IS HELPFUL, THEREFORE, THAT HUSSEIN CONTINUES TO DO WHAT HE CAN TO LEND QUIET BACKING TO SADAT'S EFFORTS.

-- AS FAR AS JORDAN IS CONCERNED, WE REMAIN COMMITTED TO A COURSE THAT WILL PERMIT HUSSEIN TO REJOIN THE NEGOTIATIONS AT THE APPROPRIATE MOMENT.

7. SOUTH LEBANON: THE SECRETARY RAISED THE SOUTH LEBANON ISSUE WITH BOTH DAYAN AND BEGIN, STRESSING THE NEED FOR THE ISRAELIS TO ANNOUNCE AN EARLY DATE FOR FINAL WITHDRAWAL. BEGIN REITERATED HIS ASSURANCES THAT ISRAEL INTENDED TO COMPLY WITH SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 425 AND WITHDRAW FULLY, BUT DID NOT WANT TO LEAVE A VACUUM BEHIND. BEGIN SAID HE RECOGNIZED THE NEED FOR A CONCRETE DATE, AND THAT UPON HIS RETURN TO ISRAEL HE WOULD CONSULT WITH WEIZMAN ABOUT THE APPROPRIATE DATE.

8. EGYPTIAN INFLUENCE ON U.S. INABILITY TO RECEIVE HUSSEIN IN WASHINGTON IN LATE MAY-EARLY JUNE (AMMAN 3915): IF HUSSEIN AGAIN MENTIONS TO YOU HIS SUSPICION THAT SADAT OR THE EGYPTIANS MAY HAVE INFLUENCED THE U.S. AS REGARDS  
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AN EARLY VISIT TO WASHINGTON BY HUSSEIN YOU ARE AUTHORIZED TO ASSURE HUSSEIN CATEGORICALLY THAT SADAT DID NOT RPT NOT DISCUSS WITH US IN ANY WAY A MEETING BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND HUSSEIN. FURTHER, WE HAVE NEVER RAISED THE SUBJECT OF A VISIT BY HUSSEIN TO WASHINGTON WITH SADAT. YOU CAN DRAW ON PREVIOUS GUIDANCE PROVIDED YOU TO THE EFFECT THAT THE PRESIDENT'S SCHEDULE WILL BE FAR TOO CROWDED TO PERMIT A VISIT TO WASHINGTON BY HUSSEIN IN THE TIMEFRAME HE ORIGINALLY PROPOSED, AND THAT THIS IN NO WAY REFLECTS ANY DIMINISHMENT IN THE IMPORTANCE THE U.S. ATTACHES TO HUSSEIN HIMSELF AND TO THE U.S.-JORDANIAN RELATIONSHIP. CHRISTOPH  
ER

SECRET

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